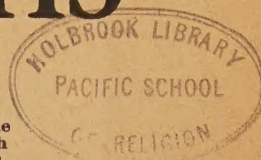


Social Questions

BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Action (unofficial), an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social-economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges.



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Number 1

The Outlook in China

J. SPENCER KENNARD, JR.*

The Anti-Chinese Conspiracy

In a communique issued by the Moscow Foreign Ministers Conference on December 27, 1945, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes pledged our government "to the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of China." Twelve days earlier, on December 15, President Truman assured our nation and the world that American aid in China "will not extend to United States military intervention to influence the course of any Chinese internal strife." The past year we have seen ever increasing violation of these pledges. The purpose of the present article is to show where this duplicity and imperialism is leading us.

Our government has trained and equipped twenty-two Chinese Nationalist armies. These comprise fifty-seven divisions and 702,200 men. Adding the 50,000 troops of the "Communication Police" and four more armies partially trained and armed, the total rapidly approaches the million mark. The Nationalists have also been supplied with a navy of 271 combat vessels and an air-force of over eight hundred planes. Even 90% of UNRRA supplies are said to be diverted for direct or indirect nationalist war uses. The total of this collaboration with the Nationalist Party is placed by the *Nation* in an editorial of August 3, 1946 at four billion dollars.

Further supplies piled up on seventeen islands of the Pacific now await transportation. A leading construction engineer, with whom I shared a plane seat recently, tells me that in a survey he made for his firm he found new jeeps and trucks still in their crates piled up four deep, along with tools, food, weapons, and ammunition of every sort. He said that this equipment, originally worth \$18,000,000, was sold to the Chinese Nationalist government for \$230,000,000, the payment money being loaned by the U. S.

The efforts of our American government to "influence the course of China's internal strife" is not confined to supplies and training. Although General Marshall is absolutely sincere in his efforts at peace, the net result of eight months of mediation has produced the biggest civil war in Chinese history. Periods of armistice have been used by our American transport service to ship weapons and troops to strategic positions. Our American navy, airforce, and other armed forces guarding rail communications, had up to last June, conveyed 473,700 Nationalist troops to various combat areas. It was American paratroopers who prevented the several hundred thousand Communists massed around Shanghai from receiving the Japanese surrender on V-J Day. Since then in North China American troops have fought repeatedly side by side with Japanese and Japan's ex-puppets against Communists. This collaboration is the more significant in view of the official statement by our government that the purpose of American troops in China was to evacuate the Japanese.

* J. Spencer Kennard, Jr., spent the period from 1921 to 1944 in China as a Baptist missionary.

Japanese soldiers now engaged against the Communist armies include 9,000 combat troops under Generals Chao Cheng-shou and Liang Yin-wu; except for Chao and Liang all the officers are Japanese. When American troops joined forces with the Nationalist armies against the Communists after V-J Day, nearly all of the so-called Nationalist troops (numbering approximately half a million men) were Japanese puppet armies, officered by some of the worst traitors in the Sino-Japanese war.

Our government's assault upon the Chinese people can bring nothing but trouble. Instead of insuring the annihilation of the Communists, it is enhancing their popularity as defenders of China against foreign imperialism. Great sections of the Chinese population which have been strongly opposed to Communism are now making common cause with the Communists against America and the Nationalists. A. T. Steele said in a dispatch from Peiping on September 13, 1946 to the "New York Herald Tribune", "The prestige of the United States in this country has diminished steadily since last autumn." Many organizations with every sort of background are protesting against American intervention. Robert P. Martin asserted in a dispatch printed in the "New York Post" of September 27, 1946, "Even newspapers which consistently support the Kuomintang against the Communists criticize American aid to Chiang Kai-shek, which they insist has resulted in spreading the civil war. The liberal press is outraged at our policies." It looks as if our government has been doing more to win support for the Chinese Communist armies than could tens of thousands of Communist propagandists.

The Russian Factor

At the same time our attempt to "get tough" with Russia is alienating the Chinese people. We are obtaining potentially valuable military bases in Manchuria and North China, but we are not considering the effect of this policy on the Chinese people. Surely, because of her vast contiguous frontier, Russia is not less interested than America in seeing China adopt her pattern of politics. That she has attempted nothing comparable to the American policy is a sign of the astuteness of her propaganda. The scrupulousness with which Russia has refrained these past nineteen years from giving military aid to the Chinese Communists has been a source of constant perplexity to friend and foe alike. Knowing that Outer Mongolia was never such an integral part of China, she was willing to risk adverse Chinese sentiment in making it a bastion against Japan. But she made no attempt to annex Sinkiang Province, which for a century was tied more closely economically to her than to China and could have been taken quite easily.

The war supplies and military representatives that Russia has sent across her borders have been placed exclusively at

the service of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Neutral investigators have been unanimous in reporting that not a single gun or bullet was delivered to the Communists. Indeed, more than one Chinese Communist has been killed by Russian weapons in the hands of the Nationalists. Even now when America, in violation of her pledges, is giving military support to influence China's internal strife, Russia still confines herself to protests. The most that can be charged against her is that in evacuating Manchuria she let the Chinese Communist armies accept the surrender of many of the Japanese troops along with Japanese arms. The Russians did not turn over the vast military supplies her armies had taken.

The supreme error of both American and British policy in this post-war scene has been the failure adequately to estimate the sentiment of nationalism. All over the world subject peoples are on the march. Any attempt of an outside power to dictate their form of government stirs them to fury. In the resistance movements in Asia, as in the countries over-run by Hitler, Communists have been far more astute than their political rivals at utilizing nationalism for advancing their ends. Everywhere they have taken the lead in resistance. To the peoples of Asia likewise, Communism has become synonymous with resistance to foreign imperialism. Hence the scrupulousness with which Russia is keeping out of the present civil war.

Christian missions have shown the way to build love for America. The only answer to growing Russian influence lies in increasing this religious and cultural effort, and above all, by removing the economic and political abuses which drive the people of China to Communism. The folly of our statesmen in turning their backs upon Christian solutions reaches its climax in our arming of the Nationalists. We had thought that by unlimited supplies of weapons placed in the hands of the Nationalists that we would assure a speedy extermination of Communism. Just before his return to China, an interview was granted me by Mr. Tung Pei-wu, Chinese Communist representative at the San Francisco U. N. conference. To my question about what the Communists would do in the face of all out military support of their opponents, he replied that his Party would rely for victory on its "secret weapon". This, he explained, was the devotion of the people. That weapon has enabled them to survive eighteen years of incessant efforts to exterminate them, and with it, they would ultimately win. Laughing, he added, "Moreover, you know your Uncle Sam is famous for his generosity. We are sure that if he supplies the Nationalists with weapons, he will supply us also. In fighting the Japanese it was from the Japanese themselves that we secured our guns and ammunition; we expect far less trouble in obtaining from our fellow Chinese the supplies intended by Heaven for our use."

Already this is proving true. According to a recent admission by the chief Communist negotiator, General Chou En-lai, sufficient weapons produced by American arsenals had been taken during the first ten months of fighting to equip fully three divisions. Recent captures are said to have increased the American equipped Communist divisions to six. Nationalist casualties are set at 150,000, which includes the surrender early in the fighting of three entire armies which changed sides. During the first week in November a pioneer action north of Antung disarmed an American equipped 256th division of the crack 52nd Army, and as a result the Communists acquired 5,000 American rifles and large stores of ammunition and arms. The total Nationalist losses for that one week have been set at 25,000, a large part of whose arms of American manufacture appear to have fallen into the hands of the Communists. And yet, by way of encouragement to his American backers, Generalissimo Chiang issued the promise about this same time that within five months the Communist armies would be annihilated. It looks

rather as though engagements like these supply the pattern for a struggle which may last for twenty years. During the grim guerilla fighting ahead the morale of Nationalist coolie soldiers will become weakened. Thereafter the tempo of delivered supplies from America will be greatly increased.

Assault on Free Enterprise

To make the comedy complete, America's support of the Nationalists is ruining private enterprise. Our statesmen intended to exterminate Communism, but what they really engaged in is the extermination of Capitalism!

The China Weekly Review of July 13, 1946 published an article by Shen Chien-tu entitled "Bureaucratic Capital steadily pushing Private Capital out of Industry." He shows how economic activities surrendered by the Japanese have been taken by the feudal bureaucracy. The more profitable the enterprise, the more it tends to become a bureaucratic monopoly.

This process was already well under way before the government quit Chungking, where out of 1409 factories over a thousand were forced to close. Those suspended included all private iron and steel works, chemical industries, 181 machine manufacturing factories, 17 electrical factories, and half of the flour and textile industry. In a report appearing in the *Far Eastern Survey* of September 25, 1946, Harley Stephens, formerly with the OSS and now representing a United States oil firm, says, "the Kuomintang has already caused many Chinese industrialists and businessmen to side with the Chinese Communist Party in the struggle for the democratization of the National Government. New government corporations have been organized during the past few months at the rate of one or more a week. As soon as they are organized, private interests tend to be either prohibited by law from participation or frozen out by the politicians in control of the purse strings." He goes on to say, "Unless present tendencies are checked and Chinese private capital obtains greater influence in government policies," bureaucratic economic interests will become so firmly entrenched as to shut out private enterprise. Thus private capital in China is fighting desperately for its life against Bureaucratic capital in the hands of a government dominated by medieval-minded feudal barons. *Amerasia* (10 October, 1946, p. 109.)

Thus our State Department has become the champion of feudalism. The cliques which have dictated Kuomintang policy since 1938 represents feudal "landlordism" at its worst. We see the owners of vast estates who have gone into banking and industry, and who maintain themselves in power by a merger of their private armies: Hence the assault on private enterprise, and the implacable refusal to compromise with the land-reformers, the "Communists", who undermine their empire. To expect these men to reform is to ask them to commit suicide.

The "*Wall Street Journal*", in an editorial of July 24, 1946 which commented on the appeal of Madame Sun Yat-sen to help China achieve unity by withholding loans and military supplies from the Nationalist government, observed "Foreign loans and foreign armies can only hinder the Chinese people in giving the final answer. Madame Sun as good as says the United States is squandering its blood and substance in a hopeless attempt to unify China. We suspect she is right." But neither the editorials of the "*Wall Street Journal*" nor those of our other leading papers seem to have realized that at the root of the Nationalist government's inability to unite the Chinese people is the domination by a feudal bureaucracy who dare not make significant concessions.

Chiang Kai-shek

Whatever his other splendid qualities, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek cannot carry out the worthy role of a suc-

cessor to Dr. Sun Yat-Sen until he is separated from the feudal cliques from which he now derives his support. This distinction between the man and his entourage is important. In our own American history we have had great leaders (e.g. General Grant) who have ended ingloriously because of their advisers. For years now the Generalissimo's thinking has been moulded by the Chen brothers. Consequently, what he says and does is often the expression of their political philosophy.

As a result of their perverse tutelage, Chiang Kai-shek is today the enemy of democracy and of free enterprise alike. For proof of this I refer to his two books, *Chinese Economic Theory* and *China's Destiny*. Both will be available to American readers in the very near future. "An advance printing of *Chinese Economic Theory* appeared in the January issue of *Amerasia*. The ghosting of *China's Destiny* was the work of an ex-traitor, Professor Tao Hsi-sheng; that of the *Economic Theory*, also by Mr. Tao, with the assistance of the economist, Chen Pao-ying. By affixing his name to these two volumes and ordering that they be used as text books throughout the schools of China, the Generalissimo has gone on record as sponsoring their content. In them, what we understand as "democracy" is classified with communism as a twin evil imported from the West. His Golden Age is that of Confucius. In accord with Confucian political theory, he advocates a highly centralized government in which the ruling group extends a benevolent paternalism to a submissive people. His economic program for modern China is a return to the ancient feudal pao-chia system of militarized village units. Therefore, a monopoly of power is secured for the privileged elite.

The mind back of such policies of reaction is Chen Li-fu. With his brother, Chen Kuo-fu, he heads the notorious "CC Clique" which dictates the choice of party officials throughout China, and through them appoints and disciplines the local administrations. Chen Li-fu is an apostle of Chinese feudalism, an outlook rendered the more dangerous by procedures imported from Japan and Germany. Unlike most others in the high councils of the Nationalist State, he is free from opportunism and profiteering and therefore is the more formidable as an advocate of reaction. It is his philosophy of government that Generalissimo Chiang has adopted and is actively propagating.

Generalissimo Chiang's military outlook is reflected in the Whampoa Cadet Clique which he heads and through which he controls the Nationalist armies. During the decade in which the German Junkers acted as military advisers, this clique developed profound affection for everything German. With pro-Germanism went a rank chauvinism. Europe was on the eve of war when Madame Chiang was defeated in her struggle to reorient the Chungking government toward America. Her brilliant Australian adviser, W. H. Donald, admitted on his visit to New York after his release from a Japanese prison camp that he was ousted because of his vigorous opposition to the government's pro-Nazi policies. It must not be forgotten that General Von Falkenhausen and his staff were not dismissed in defense to Britain and America, but only after vigorous Japanese pressure upon Hitler. Even after their official withdrawal, several of these German advisers continued to exercise their influence in Chungking. Last summer several German Nazis were reported to have joined the Chinese secret police.

Collaboration With Japan

The most astounding development of the war was the transfer of 491,000 troops, including 57 generals, from the payroll of Chungking to that of Tokyo. The initial motive was more efficiency in achieving the joint objective of Chungking and Tokyo, that being the annihilation of the Chinese Communists. But when America's victory was assured, the task of these puppets, who were nominally in the service of Japan, was to pose as the legitimate armies of

the Nationalist government. In the *New York Times* of October 31, 1944, Brooks Atkinson forecast this duplicity: "No diplomatic genius," he said, "could have overcome the Generalissimo's unwillingness to risk his armies in battle with the Japanese. . . . Foreigners can only conclude that the Chinese Government wants to save its armies to secure its political power after the war." That this was, in fact, the basic aim of Chiang Kai-shek's war strategy was further substantiated in a dispatch from A. T. Steele to the *New York Herald Tribune* dated August 14, 1945. He stated that in recovering control of Japanese occupied areas, "the Chungking Government is counting on assistance from Chinese puppet troops . . . It is no secret that many puppet officials and army officers are in league with Chungking, and plan to declare allegiance to the central government when the opportunity is ripe. These will be expected to hold their garrison areas against Communist pressure until central government troops arrive."

In addition to furnishing military and moral support to the most anti-democratic cliques within the Kuomintang, the American State Department also tacitly abets the suppression of the people of China through its collaboration with Chiang's secret police. China's secret military police, known as the "T'owu T'uan," was recruited originally from Shanghai's underworld by General Chiang's colleague, Tu Yueh-sheng. The sadistic cruelty of General Tai Li, who was known as the Chinese Himmler, wrecked the morale of many tens of thousands of China's patriots. The speech of Professor Chang Hsi-jo to the Peoples Political Council is to the point: "The Kuomintang claims that it is the legal government. That is correct, but legality is not enough for a government. It must have the support of the people. Legally, the Kuomintang can be said to be a government. Morally it is simply a bandit."

The Chinese Communists

The facts already enumerated should have made quite clear that the issue in China is not between the Kuomintang and Communism but between Feudalism and all other groups. An appraisal of the forces opposed to the present regime will include Kuomintang members who are forced to collaborate with the feudal cliques while bitterly denouncing them. The outstanding man is Sun Fo, the son of Sun Yat-sen and chairman of the Legislative Yuan, who, in his *China Looks Forward*, denounces the regime as a "dictatorial bureaucracy". This group will include the whole Political Science group and at their head Chang Chun, former governor of Szechuan, and a leading Christian. The group has been swept aside in the drive for increased centralization. Important industrialists like Chen Kuan-fu, head of a whole series of war-time industries and of the Shanghai Specie bank will also be ranked with opposition to the Nationalist regime. To these must be added the Democratic League, a section of the Youth Party, and non-partisans.

When Mr. Martell Hall of the National City Bank at 55 Wall Street reached our missionary community at Chengtu after he had spent seven months traveling widely in the Communist area during the course of his flight from Peiping, I presented him with the official announcement from the Ministry of Information about the fighting of these Communists. He was furious when he learned that the faculty and students of our university were being told that the Red Armies were sabotaging the war, bursting forth, "That's downright libel!"

As evidence of the intensity of the Communists' fighting, the highways and railways of Northern China are still lined by thousands of miles of ditches and block houses built by the Japanese to resist their implacable attacks. The distribution of Japan's armies shows that they were the Chinese forces the Japanese feared most. According to a summary of military activities in the Tokyo "Asahi Shimbun" of Janu-

(Continued on page 14)

These Are Men

MALVINA THORNTON *

In September, 1945, 219 seamen, citizens of the newly established Indonesian Republic, remained ashore in the United States rather than man Dutch and British ships loaded with munitions of war and troops to be used against their fellow countrymen.

For overstaying the leave permitted alien seamen they are subject to deportation to their native land, where they would face recriminatory action on the part of the Dutch government—certain long years of imprisonment—probable death.

Now they are lodged in a detention camp in Crystal City, Texas, awaiting final decision in their case by the Supreme Court. No charge of any kind except the technical one of overstaying leave is made against them. These are men of unquestioned character, honorable, able, courageous. They are eager and willing to work. All they ask of the United States Government is to be allowed to earn their living in the land of the free, till such time as conditions in their home land permit them a safe return.

There is legal precedent for giving them political asylum in our country. There is no reason why they should be deported to their doom except the arbitrary attitude of our Department of Justice in support of the oppressive colonial policy of the British and Dutch.

Another '76

In '76 American revolutionists won with their blood a freedom denied by oppressive British rule.

The struggle of the Indonesian people against the Dutch is even more clear-cut, the case against their Dutch oppressors more flagrant. The American colonists fought for independence from their own motherland. The Indonesians seek to throw off the yoke of an alien conqueror nine thousand miles away.

The East Indian Archipelago—Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes and many smaller islands—is the seat of an ancient culture, matrix of a delicate, distinctive art. It is a land rich in oil, rubber, iron, tin, tea, coffee and spice, among many other things, plunder for predatory men of other nations. For three and a half centuries the Netherlands Empire has held it in subjection by no right other than that of armed might.

Each year a rich stream of \$160,000,000.00 flows from the Islands into the rapacious hands of a few Dutch absentee owners. To provide all this wealth its true owners, the Indonesians, live lives of poverty, ill-health and hard labor. The annual income of the Islands are divided as follows: Europeans—less than 1/2% get 65%, Chinese middlemen 1 1/2% get 22 1/2%, and the Indonesians, 98% get 12 1/2%. In all parts of the Islands, the people, men, women and children, are still forced to make the humiliating "sembah"—a form of obeisance—whenever a Dutch person passes.

On August 17, 1945, two days after V-J day, the peoples of the East Indian Archipelago proclaimed their independence of the foreign usurper and formed their own Republic of Indonesia.

During the war the Dutch had let their Indonesian subjects defend themselves as best they could against the invading Japanese. Poorly armed, they fought heroically and succeeded in overcoming the fascist invaders.

With the return of peace the Dutch too returned, and now seek by force to reassert their control over "their" colony.

Just as American patriots of '76 were branded as traitors and hunted by the British government, all Indonesians who

oppose Dutch rule are classed as "rebels" and subjected to severe penalties, usually death.

The Four Freedoms

A great and terrible war to preserve democracy, to assert the right of all people to their own form of government, has just been fought. In it over 26,441,700 men and women of all nations died. Perhaps your husband, son or sister was one of them.

There is no doubt whatever, but that the Republican government of Indonesia is democratic. It has the support of the overwhelming majority of the 93,000,000 Indonesians. Nothing prevents its peaceful operation but the armed intervention of the Dutch government, actively assisted by the British and backed by the U. S. Department of State.

In Dutch and British areas of occupation thousands of Indonesian patriots have died in open battle. Towns have been reduced to shambles, those who surrendered have been tortured and beaten to death. Japanese troops have been armed and sent against the Indonesians. Without popular knowledge or consent, the United States Government has supplied arms and military equipment.

World Conscience

Through all the years of the war, the 219 Indonesian seamen who now await news of their fate in the Crystal City camp manned Allied ships going through mine—and submarine—infested waters. America must remain a land of political asylum for those who fought for world freedom. We, the people, must speak out—and loud—to rescue these men. In our own interest we must do more.

President Roosevelt said: "Exploit the riches of an India, a Burma, a Java—take all the wealth out of those countries, but never put anything back into them—and all you're doing is storing up trouble that leads to war."

In support of democratic governments like the Republic of Indonesia each American citizen has a stake. We must bring pressure on our own government to honor in time of peace the commitments solemnly undertaken in war.

What You Can Do

(M.F.S.S. Action)

WRITE OR WIRE TOM CLARK, U. S. Attorney General, Washington, D. C., asking that the case against the Indonesians be dropped.

ASK AN INVESTIGATION

ASK RECOGNITION OF INDONESIAN REPUBLIC

CONTRIBUTE FUNDS

CIRCULATE PETITIONS

Are you a DELINQUENT member of the Federation?
If so, YOU and YOUR FELLOW DELINQUENTS owe the Federation \$2,834.00!

We have "carried" people who are behind in their membership payments for as much as a year. With our greatly expanded program and staff, we cannot afford to do this any longer.

So—PAY UP, PAY UP, and play the game!

* Malvina Thornton is the Exec. Secy. of the Northern California Committee for a Free Indonesia.

the undertaker cometh

Last spring Sergeant Marion Hargrove, author of "See Here, Private Hargrove", war-time best-seller, was invited to address the National Association of Manufacturers. He did so, much to the NAM's regret. He chose as his topic "See Here, Private Enterprise" and then proceeded to kick every one of the NAM's sacred cows right in the face. For understandable reasons the speech was never publicized by Hargrove's outraged hosts.

The truth, printed large upon the face of the battered world, is that "private enterprise", "the free economy system", "the American way" or whatever you want to call competitive capitalism, is on its death bed. And the old sinner, who turned from the stodgy medievalism of Roman Catholicism in his vibrant youth (see Tawney: Protestantism and the Rise of Capitalism) now repents of his apostasy and, *in extremis*, asks baptism and extreme unction from Mother Church—and gets it. The frantic doctors, Uncle Sam and John Bull, realizing that the patient is going to die, hover about the death bed with their hypodermic needles, and are of half a mind to go home to Rome themselves, so moving is the spectacle of repentance.

As for us, we felt that the old codger had outlived his usefulness several decades ago, and have been predicting his demise for some time. For years the mast-head of the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN has announced that the Methodist Federation For Social Service is "an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social-economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges."

In his youth and middle age, capitalism did a pretty good job. He was a distinct improvement over his predecessor, medievalism. He created wealth, raised standards of living, and nurtured certain values that the world needed. But after suffering from hardening of the arteries in the period following the first world war, he was overcome by a stroke in 1929 from which he never really recovered. World War II was a short-lived blood transfusion, and the patient even got out of bed and took a turn around the room. But now he is back flat on his back, groaning and moaning between spoon-feedings of alternate subsidy and scarcity. He is not long for this world. The stock market thermometer fluctuates, but drops ever lower.

The frantic rushings to and fro, the frenzied honkings and bayings of the old boys retainers, are both pitiful and ludicrous. Take the cotton men, for example. Six months ago the southern fellows who control the white fluffy stuff were shrieking that "government control" was preventing them from making money. Take all controls off cotton and let the cotton market be free. They damned the bureaucratic-socialistic-New Deal crackpots from heck to break-fast. So the government gave in and took all controls off of the cotton market. They gave the cotton men what they wanted. So what happened? The bottom fell out of the cotton market, bankrupting thousands of cotton farmers and brokers. Then the same men who had damned the government for controlling the market came running to Washington to damn the government for not controlling the market. Pitiful, but funny.

The plain truth is, the only place where there is any capitalism, any "private enterprise" left in the world is in the United States. And even here the symptoms of mortal illness are strong upon it—strikes, price rises, stock market declines. And the new male nurse—the Republican Party—is about to take his rich patient off of the limited diet that has kept him alive thus far, and put him back on beef-steak and boiled potatoes. This will undoubtedly kill him.

The undertaker cometh. He is a composite of Taft, Vandenburg, and Dewey and he will carry the corpse lovingly to its final resting place. *In Pacem Requiescat.*

The great question is, who will take the old boy's place.

Communism? It has tremendous appeal to the oppressed, exploited, discriminated-against masses of the world, as every election since the end of the war testifies. But as a system of world order, in its present form, it is unacceptable to most Christians. It will require a large leaven of what we think of as "Christian idealism" to make it acceptable, but we may get it whether it is "acceptable" or not. "Christian Socialism"? It could replace capitalism, if the Catholics will leave it alone and not translate it into Christian medievalism.

A good guess—and perhaps a hope as well—is that a gradual synthesis of communism, socialism, and Christianity will produce as close an approximation as we can get on this side of the Great Divide to that social ordering that Jesus called "The Kingdom of God."

At any rate—good-bye, private enterprise. Your imminent demise reminds us a little of the rich man of whom Finnegan and Archie were speaking in "Duffy's Tavern" the other night. "He can't take it with him" said Finnegan piously. "Him?" said Archie, "If he can't take it with him, I'll guarantee he don't go".

So long, p.e. We'll do the best we can with what you leave us.—A. J. S.

Those who have been taught of Christ know in their hearts that the first law of life is to love God, and next to God one's neighbor; that they are great who serve many, not those whom many serve; that we need to be forgiven much and to forgive generously; that ill-will blocks the channels of life and blinds us to God; that the body and all the things of nature are not to be despised, but mastered for spiritual ends; that the life which is self-saving and self-serving is starved; that the accumulation of possessions and the care they become is not the great good, but a great hazard to the life of the spirit; that he is a fool who invests his life's interests in undependable securities, in values that do not last; that God is trustworthy and to be trusted, and in that trust we may escape our great enemy, fear; that "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son."

—Angus Dun, Bishop of Washington

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Behind the Headlines

DR. HARRY F. WARD *

(With this issue of the BULLETIN Dr. Ward begins a monthly column of analysis of the news.)

A part of our press has seen that if we succeed in escaping the atomic-chemical war, Molotov's speech to the General Assembly on Dec. 4 will be marked in history as the decisive point in our course. Consequently it should be discussed, along with Baruch's speech the next day, in all preacher and church groups that are concerned with securing a just and durable peace.

What Molotov did was first to accept our counter-proposal on the reduction of armaments and control of atomic weapons with constructive amendments designed to clarify, to strengthen, and to hasten procedures. Then he lifted the relation of the veto to control and inspection out of the confusion that has surrounded it by pointing out the elementary fact that "the principle of unanimity" (they always speak of the veto in its positive form) "has no relation to the work of the commissions themselves. Consequently (he added) there are no grounds whatever for saying that any power making use of 'the right of the veto' will be in a position to obstruct the course of control." That, he declared, would be "nothing other than a violation of the decisions of the Security Council."

He then made it clear that the principle of unanimity does, and must apply to decisions reducing armaments, controlling atomic energy, the composition and rules of commissions. This for the fundamental reason that: "Only the attainment of unanimity in the Security Council and, above all, of unanimity between the five permanent members, can guarantee the adoption of the decision to reduce armaments." Also, only unanimity can make the decisions effective. Here is the essence of the matter. There is the basic reason the Russians accepted the veto which we proposed in order to get our participation in the United Nations through the Senate. Now they are using it as their only defense against the bloc voting of the capitalist world, sometimes manipulated by us in the manner of our machine politics. Until that stops all resolutions about the improper use of the veto will come to naught.

The ugly talk and bad blood of the discussion over atomic energy could have been avoided had we met the Soviet counter-proposal to our original plan with a request for conference to search for agreement instead of standing beligerently on a take it or leave it position. Contrary to general interpretation, Molotov's speech did not announce a change of policy, it showed a change in attitude. From the beginning the Soviet approach to the atomic problem has differed from ours not in essentials but in order of procedure. The American people have been made to believe that the Soviet plan was ineffective because it proposed only outlawry without control, inspection or punishment for violations. Yet the record shows that Gromyko's proposal to the Atomic Energy Commission, immediately after ours was submitted, asked first for a treaty of outlawry and the destruction within three months thereafter of all stocks of such finished and unfinished weapons (we propose turning them over to an international authority). Then he offered Soviet cooperation in working out "systems and organizations of control in the use of atomic energy and a system of sanctions against its unlawful use." That offer should have been immediately accepted.

Instead the whole matter was jeopardized by Baruch's apparent attempt to work outside the Security Council and his demand for exempting it from the operation of the veto,

which was not mentioned in the original draft by the Consultants Commission of the State Department. Indeed our experts had warned that no plan would have a chance of acceptance which required the elimination of the voting procedure adopted at Yalta. The prospect of agreement is now good, since Baruch, in his latest proposal, accepts operation through the Security Council and on the veto asks only for agreement that it be not used to protect a violator of the control and inspection treaty from punishment. Even that is unnecessary because if any serious violation of the prohibition of the use of atomic energy for military purposes occurs it means war anyhow, veto or no veto. Therefore the main objective is the securing of unanimity.

That would be easier if we could remember that one of the principles by which we are supposed to order our life, and according to Mr. Baruch are going to stand on even if we have to stand alone, is to do to others as we would be done by. If the present position between us and the Soviet Union were reversed, if they had the atomic bomb and we were the only capitalist nation in a socialist world, what kind of protection would we want in a disarmament program?

* * * * *

There is a point beyond which the present conciliatory and constructive attitude of the Soviet Union cannot go without endangering not only their own security but that of other peoples. That point is starkly revealed in our proposal on the trusteeship, fortification and inspection of the larger islands we took from Japan with the statement that if this were not accepted we would keep them anyhow and do as we pleased. A New York Times commentator says this would make the islands plain colonies that we hold by right of conquest. The Republican *Herald Tribune* called it annexation in everything but the name. It was telling Russia, whose interest in the Pacific is also vital, that the veto which we had first asked for, would be of no avail. This is dictatorship, not democracy, in diplomacy. If it succeeds it reduces the United Nations to impotence. At once South Africa followed suit in asking for the annexation of native territory on a take it or leave it basis and then New Zealand did the same regarding the fortification of Samoa. Because of its record on the race question, both with regard to its Indian population and African indentured labor, South Africa was voted down. Now what follows if we continue our stand? The responsibility falls heavily upon the Protestant Churches for the voice which uttered our demand was the voice of the chairman of the Commission for a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council. No amount of sophistry about the United Nations not being ready for responsibility can build enduring peace on that base. Instead of making defense conditional upon an all out attempt to get disarmament and security for all it puts preparation for possible war first. It is directly contrary to the findings of national and international Protestant gatherings. The President of the Federal Council has just said that the church "refuses dictation from so-called statesmen who think in terms of power politics and are unacquainted with the moral law." Now the question is what is the Federal Council going to do about one of its leaders who talks in terms of the moral law and acts in terms of power politics? More important still, what is the rank and file of the churches going to say to their government about this policy?

This nation and the world are indebted to ex-Mayor LaGuardia for an example of what one man willing to fight for human needs and his principles may do against odds. Administrator of UNRRA which closes up at the end of the

* Dr. Harry F. Ward is a former executive secretary of the Federation and recently retired from the faculty of Union Theological Seminary.

year, faced with the determination of his government to end all joint relief, knowing the suffering that would follow for millions of people, especially the children in many countries, he framed a continuing plan for relief. He got support and the pledge of a contribution from the Soviet Union, also the backing of Noel Baker, the British second in command. Then Byrnes went to Bevin and got the British called off and pledged to our position. We give reasons of efficiency but meantime Byrnes has announced the policy of no financial aid to countries whose leaders say, or applaud others saying, that our economic expansion threatens their economic independence. On this ground he cancelled a credit to Czechoslovakia and got Bevin to do likewise. La Guardia bluntly says that this means using food as a political weapon, and that Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland and the Ukraine will be on the blacklist. He modified his plan but still was faced in the commission with the opposition of his government and Great Britain, who say they will grant relief but only by their own choice and direct arrangement with the countries helped. LaGuardia replied, this is a handout, not international relief. He fought on and finally got an agreement that this national relief will be handled in cooperation with his modified plan, will be available when and where needed, and a specific declaration that food will not be used for political purposes.

Several years since President Roosevelt, and recently Sumner Welles, both of them having heavy responsibility in the matter, admitted that our policy toward the Spanish Republic was a mistake. In view of the consequences it was worse than that. The majority of our people, including the Catholics whose leaders had a large part in making that policy, voted in public opinion polls against it. Nevertheless, despite the lesson of history and the people's will, we now continue in the same course. That is some indication of the strength of the unseen forces that direct our foreign policy. Then we said that selling supplies to a duly recognized democratic government willing to take all the risk of transport constituted intervention and meant war. Now we say that breaking diplomatic relations with Franco, whom we admit is not fit to belong in the United Nations and know is a source of fascist doctrine and action among our southern neighbors, is intervention and means civil war. On top of that we ask Franco to get out and the Spanish people to form a democratic government, at the same time refusing to join in an international policy which would stop our nationals and our government from selling him the supplies which enable him to crush the democratic movement. There is a deeper reason for this callous hypocrisy than the profits of trade or the safeguarding of investments. It appears in our support of anti-democratic elements in Germany, the Balkans and Asia. It is the nature of our policy of economic expansion. It is the fact that economic imperialism, being anti-democratic in nature, must produce anti-democratic political policies.

The sudden ending of the coal strike leaves us still with the basic problems, ignored by most people during the dramatic fight between Lewis and the administration. In '34 the miners, working in our most hazardous and exhausting occupation, won the seven hour day and the five day week, because of the speedup through mechanization. During the war emergency they agreed to work 54 hours a week. Now faced with the increasing shrinkage of the wage dollar they are asking for the forty hour week with no reduction in pay. There is good reason to believe that with enough pressure from the government upon the recalcitrant section of the Southern opera-

tors, who forced the dismissal of their association's \$25,000 a year conservative chairman because he proposed a settlement, the strike could have been settled without the dangerous use of the injunction. Those who want industrial peace had better remember that it was the unmet needs of the miners which put Lewis where he is, and keep him there. There is something else for our group to remember. Over twenty years ago, in a similar crisis, it was recognized that bituminous coal is a sick industry. It combines the worst features of small, competitive enterprise in little mines scattered up the hollows of southern mountain valleys with the monopolistic features of the "captive mines" owned by steel and railroad interests. The various plans of the past to restore health to this industry whose sickness endangers the economy of this nation and the world are covered with dust in their pigeonholes. Coal is the place, as it was in England, to begin to manage our economy in the public interest. It is time to expound in relation to this need our basic principle of putting planning for social ends in place of the blind struggle for profit.

Points to Watch.

How the voting in the United Nations is beginning to go against us on moral issues like race discrimination in South Africa and Franco, and particularly on our proposal for Pacific bases . . . Whether the requested inquiry by Greece is extended to the part of Great Britain and ourselves in the policies and procedures that led to civil war . . . What the allegedly liberal program of the National Manufacturers' Association means in labor legislation . . . The appearance of wild stories about Soviet plots in different parts of the world as the prospects of agreement in the United Nations improve . . . Whether Myron Taylor is continued at the Vatican after the first of the year.



"A Monarchy must be strong and flexible."—General Franco.

Lewis Gary, based on sculpture by Jack Lambert in "Chicago Sun"

"This was a man whose word was light in a thousand dark places. When he was angry, it was because he knew, far better than we did, that life need not be a sordid, greedy scramble."—J. B. Priestly, at the funeral of H. G. Wells, London, Aug. 16, 1946.

Policies on International Relations

Adopted in the Annual Meeting of the Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church

Evanston, Illinois

In these days of confusion, chaos and fear, the Church is called upon to affirm its faith in the goodness and power of God and to do His service of reconciliation. Our hopes for the ordering of the world is in the God and Father of our Lord Jesús Christ and the way of life to which He calls us. In the complexities and difficulties of the political scene, the Church of Christ has an indispensable word to speak for it is the only community without boundaries of nation or race, culture or tradition. It is the bearer of a gospel of forgiveness, of understanding and brotherly love, of the equality of all men before God, on which alone a just and lasting peace can be established.

The Christian gospel is not a substitute for political wisdom. However, it has light to shed upon every concrete political issue. Through the attitudes and acts of Christian citizens this gospel must now be brought to bear upon certain problems of great urgency. Among these we emphasize the following:

1. The United Nations must have the prayers and support of Christian citizens. In spite of limitations it offers an unprecedented, and at present the only, channel for international co-operation. Its improvement can come about only through the effective use of its present far-reaching resources for international order and security. We look toward the development of a true form of world government out of the machinery already established and functioning in the United Nations.

2. We ask for the cessation of the manufacture of atomic bombs by the United States; for the adoption of a plan of international control of atomic energy under the United Nations; for the destruction of existing bombs or their placement under the control of the United Nations.

3. We rejoice in the statements calling for universal disarmament recently made in the General Assembly of the United Nations by representatives of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States, and we urge upon Christian citizens the support of all concrete measures looking in this direction.

4. In harmony with the previous action adopted by the Council of Bishops of The Methodist Church, we support the universal abolition of conscription through the United Nations, and oppose the establishment of any form of peace-time compulsory military training in the United States.

5. We view with apprehension proposals that the United States retain as strategic bases territories in the Pacific occupied in the recent war. We urge that the United States give full co-operation in the early establishment of the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations and that such territories be placed under the trusteeship of the Council.

6. It is only on foundations of reconciliation with our former enemies and concern for their physical as well as spiritual well-being that stable world order can be built. Germany must be made economically self-supporting for the sake of the German people, and for the sake of the economic rehabilitation of Europe. Japan must be aided in recovery, not only through political action, but through the work of Christian missions, through the significant establishment of a new Christian university at Tokyo, and through "atonement" gifts to Hiroshima and Nagasaki as a token restitution for unpardonable injuries done to them.

7. The hungry peoples of the earth must be fed. This is an inescapable duty for which the primary responsibility rests upon opulent America. To this end we ask the United

Nations to set up a storehouse of food, and an organization to take over the functions of UNRRA when this organization terminates. We call upon our government to appropriate the major part of the funds needed for this purpose.

8. The giving of food, clothing, and other forms of material aid is the continuing obligation of the churches. For the transmission of funds and materials we urge the use of both the ecumenical agency, Church World Service, and the Methodist Committee on Overseas Relief.

9. We affirm our conviction that war with Russia is neither imminent nor inevitable. Our worst menace is a spirit of defeatism, suspicion, and the inaction of despair. Our best ground of security is mutual understanding and tolerance of differing points of view. We reaffirm the statement of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America that security is no longer geographic; that the armament race must be ended; that neither state socialism nor free enterprise provides a perfect economic system, and each can learn from the experience of the other; that the occasions for tension will largely be removed if the democratic peoples will make their political institutions so vigorous and life-giving that men everywhere will want them.

10. We commend to the careful study of the churches the statement on Soviet-American Relations adopted by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America on October 11, 1946.

11. The Church must give itself resolutely to the creation of world order based on a spiritual world community. We must, therefore, make the experience of ecumenical Christian fellowship a vivid reality in the local church. We urge upon ministers, church school teachers, women's organizations, youth groups, and all other agencies, the necessity of acquainting themselves with the ecumenical movement and promoting inter-church co-operation in the local community.

An Act of Atonement

The Commission on World Peace of The Methodist Church is convinced that the Christian Church should perform an act of atonement for the past use of the atomic bomb. This view has been expressed by the Federal Council's Commission on The Relation of the Church to the War in the Light of the Christian Faith. Its Commission says:

"We are agreed that, whatever be one's judgment of the ethics of war in principle, the surprise bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are mortally indefensible. They repeated in a ghastly form the indiscriminate slaughter of non-combatants that has become familiar during World War II. They were loosed without specific warning, under conditions which virtually assured the deaths of 100,000 civilians. No word of the existence of atomic bombs was published before the actual blasting of Hiroshima. A prior demonstration on enemy soil (either in vacant territory or on a fortification) would have been quite possible and was actually suggested by a group of the scientists concerned. The proposed use of the atomic bomb was sure to affect gravely the future of mankind. Yet the peoples whose governments controlled the bomb were given no chance to weigh beforehand the moral and political consequences of its use. Nagasaki was bombed also without specific warning, after the power of the bomb had been proved but before the Japanese government and high command had been given reasonable

time to reach a decision to surrender. Both bombings, moreover, must be judged to have been unnecessary for winning the war. Japan's strategic position was already hopeless, and it was virtually certain that she had not developed atomic weapons of her own. Even though use of the new weapon . . . may well have shortened the war, the moral cost was too high. And as the power that first used the atomic bomb under these circumstances, we have sinned grievously against the laws of God and against the people of Japan. Without seeking to apportion blame among individuals, we are compelled to judge our chosen course inexcusable."

Holding this view, we now propose to establish, as an act of our atonement, a fund to be used for the alleviation of suffering in each of the Japanese cities over which the atomic bomb was released. To this end we are appropriating the sum of a thousand dollars, and we invite contributions to this fund from individuals and groups, both within and without The Methodist Church.

SELECTED DIRECTORY OF PRIVATE AGENCIES

- American Aid to France, Inc., 39 East 36 Street, New York 16, N. Y.
- American Bureau for Medical Aid to China, Inc., 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.
- American Christian Committee for Refugees, Inc., 147 West 42 Street, New York 18, N. Y.
- American Committee in Aid of Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, Inc., 425 4th Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.
- American Field Service, 30 East 51 Street, New York 22, N. Y.
- American Friends Service Committee, Inc., 20 South 12 Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.
- American Hungarian Relief, Inc., 165 West 46 Street, New York 19, N. Y.
- American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc., 207 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.
- American Relief for Czechoslovakia, Inc., 1819 Broadway, New York 23, N. Y.
- American Relief for Holland, Inc., 55 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.
- American Relief for India, Inc., % American Friends Service Committee, 241 Lexington Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.
- American Relief for Italy, Inc., 29 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.
- American Relief to Austria, 10 East 43 Street, New York 17, N. Y.
- American Relief for Poland, Inc., 1200 North Ashland Avenue, Chicago 22, Ill.
- Brethren Service Committee, Inc., 22 South State Street, Elgin, Ill.
- Church World Service, Inc., 37 East 36 Street, New York 16, N. Y.
- Congregational Christian Service Committee, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.
- Cooperative for American Remittance to Europe (CARE), 50 Broad Street, New York 4, N. Y.
- Greek War Relief Association, Inc., U.S.A., 221 West 57 Street, New York 19, N. Y.
- Labor League for Human Rights, A. F. of L., 10 East 40 Street, New York 16, N. Y.
- Lutheran World Relief, Inc., 231 Madison Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.
- National CIO Community Services Committee, 1776 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.
- Philippine War Relief of the United States, Inc., 1720 Eye Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.
- Save the Children Federation, Inc., 1 Madison Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.
- Unitarian Service Committee, 9 Park Street, Boston 8, Mass.
- United Service to China, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.
- United Yugoslav Relief Fund of America, 677 Fifth Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.
- War Relief Services—National Catholic Welfare Conference, Inc., 350 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.
- World Student Service Fund, 20 West 40 Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Bishop Oxnham to Head National Committee for Planned Parenthood

Bishop G. Bromley Oxnham, president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, has accepted chairmanship of a national committee to sponsor the First Nation-Wide Campaign for Planned Parenthood, it was announced today by S. Rodger Callaway, chairman of the executive committee of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. The campaign will be held in February, 1947.

The campaign, with a goal of \$2,000,000 for extension of planned parenthood services and for research in human fertility, will be held through 100 participating state and local committees of the Federation. It will be the first nationwide campaign of the organization that was founded 26 years ago by Margaret Sanger as the American Birth Control League.

Bishop Oxnham has been closely identified with the field of education. Founder of the Church of All Nations in Los Angeles, he has also served on the faculties of the University of Southern California and Boston University School of Theology and was president of DePauw University for eight years. He has been a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church since 1936. He is married and has three children.

Bishop Oxnham was also among more than 3,200 members of the Protestant and Jewish clergy who recently signed a resolution calling for expansion of planned parenthood services in hospitals and social welfare agencies throughout the country.

"The services of planned parenthood—to enable parents to have wanted children by choice, instead of unwanted children by chance—is one of the most potent forces for our national well-being today," declared Bishop Oxnham in accepting campaign leadership, vital actor in the protection of the home and the health of the family.

"Planned Parenthood, which employs the best approved principles of child-spacing, saves lives and it saves homes. It bulwarks our national strength by building stronger families; raises the quality of our population by bringing only wanted babies into the world, babies with a chance to grow up in a balanced home environment and become useful citizens."

Describing planned parenthood as "one expression of the Christian principle that affirms the sacredness of human personality," Bishop Oxnham said:

"Planned parenthood—designed to preserve the family, enrich the personality of the child and benefit society, rests upon firm moral foundations. The sin is in rejecting the means science makes available for this high purpose."

Mr. Callaway, who is chairman of the Planned Parenthood Federation's national campaign planning committee, said there are now 568 planned parenthood centers in the United States and seven states offer child-spacing information as part of their public health services. The Federation's services embrace medically approved methods of contraception, treatment for childless couples and education for marriage and parenthood.

Why not give your social-action minded friends, or your friends who ought to be social-action minded, a \$2.00 membership in the Federation? For nine months of the year, October through June, this will bring them the new 16-page SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN, chock-full of the kind of pointed news and editorializing that they need.

How Honest Are Preachers?

LAWRENCE W. NEFF *

"I would rather lend money to a gambler than a preacher!" Such stark assertion would have sufficed to arrest my attention, whatever its occasion and source. But, coming as it did, from the lips of an active and influential lay member and official of one of the largest Methodist churches in Atlanta, I was fairly flabbergasted.

The man spoke with unmistakable conviction and obvious disgust. When I remained silent, he proceeded to offer an explanation of his remark. No less than four Methodist pastors of Atlanta churches, he related, had come to him to borrow money. All of them represented themselves as standing in sore need of immediate financial assistance to meet emergencies—one of them displayed a message calling him to the bedside of his dying mother. All of them received the loans solicited, and not one ever repaid one penny. On the contrary, the layman observed a growing avoidance of him on their part, and before long he noticed them crossing the street half a block away rather than meet him face to face.

I, too, had some recollections of much the same kind, though I did not mention them to him at the time, and speak of them now, after the lapse of ten to twenty years, only from a sense of social and religious obligation.

A decade in the active ministry, devoted by preference to struggling country congregations and submerged mill communities, confirmed my judgment that more effectual fields of effort lay in another direction. During that time I had passed through the throes of painful disillusionment. I found that both preachers and churches were designated by the dollar mark. Here was a \$600.00 circuit; yonder a \$6,000.00 man. Seldom indeed were they contemplated or mentioned in any other manner. "Congratulations, old man," said one to me, "You got a \$1,000.00 circuit!" He now has a \$6,000.00 to \$7,000.00 district. Another remarked to a group in my presence: "I would jump at a chance to go anywhere for a \$200.00 raise!"

I learned that some of the preachers habitually beat their outstanding debts when moved at the end of the year to another charge, and that only in case of excessive or confirmed delinquency were they disciplined by demotion, which made their state only the worse; also that in some communities it was taken for granted that at the end of the year the pastor would default all unpaid obligations and take a fresh start.

These were only straws borne on the trade-wind of all but uniform tendencies. By and large, I was compelled to conclude that the ministry does not promote or even recognize the standards of common honesty without which secular business institutions would certainly and deservedly go upon the rocks. Very soon I was to accumulate a mass of corroborative evidence.

Having been a printer in my earlier days, upon retiring from the ministry I almost automatically reverted to type. With a wide acquaintance and easy accessibility, I turned to printing stationery and other items for preachers.

The transactions were conducted by mail, upon what seemed a fair and even liberal basis. Orders were filled upon a written promise to make payment within five days or return the goods at my expense, with no questions asked. The plan worked admirably so far as volume and customer satisfaction were concerned. No package was ever returned, and expressions were preponderantly appreciative.

There was an unsuspected fly in the ointment. First a few, then more, and finally a great many preachers omitted or refused point-blank to pay as promised. As a last recourse I could make representations to their ecclesiastical superiors—the presiding elders. Usually this course produced the desired result; always it left disturbing tensions.

* Mr. Neff is the editor of the magazine "Brothers," published at Emory Univ., Atlanta.

In some instances the men higher up were guilty, requiring resort to those highest up.

A South Carolina presiding elder was utterly deaf to appeals for payment of a substantial account. After months of hopeful waiting I wrote a letter to his bishop, reciting the facts, and forwarded a carbon copy of the letter to the man himself. A few days later the same mail brought a reply from the bishop and a check from the minister, with no word of explanation or apology—just a check.

At length I grew weary of interminable squabbles and withdrew credit to preachers, with individual exceptions—this after I had succeeded in accumulating scores of bad debts in a dozen states ranging from a few to several hundred dollars and scattered all along the line from Hard-scrabble circuit to the college of bishops. For example:

A member of the North Georgia Conference, in "good standing," as were all the others, gave me an order for stationery to be sent by mail, and didn't pay for it as agreed. An inquiry brought the reply that he had never received it. Then a tracer in the postal service took a hand and forced the man to sign a statement that he had the package all the while. Less culpable conduct than that has landed many an offender behind prison bars. He died and went to heaven—we hope!—without getting the receipt which St. Peter may have demanded.

A preacher who has made the hills and dales of North Georgia sound and resound these many years with impassioned appeals for "holiness" and the "second blessing" as a distinct work of grace gave me a ten-dollar order some fifteen years ago and promptly forgot about it. When reminded in person several years later, he stated that his living expenses had been unusually heavy. They must have continued that way until the present juncture. He is still howling for holiness and pleading with the impenitent, tending to confirm my fear that the ministry is infested with fakers.

A sadistic sanctificationist in South Georgia resolutely refused through the years to answer any inquiry.

Another South Georgia preacher was so remiss in remitting that I suggested intervention by his presiding elder as a possibility. The intimation proved a vertiable red rag. He wrote a reply which really called for an asbestos envelope. He roared. He raved. He ranted. He reverberated. He wanted to cuss so bad it was positively pathetic. The spaces between the lines reeked with speechless profanity. But he didn't pay. And he now has a very important appointment.

The pastor of a big downtown Atlanta church defrauded me of three dollars in a minor transaction, with intermittent promises of payment over a period of five or ten years, since which time, no doubt, his heavy spiritual responsibilities have crowded it from his mind. I have before me right now a carbon copy of an invoice dated Jan. 9, 1932, bearing this notation—"Dear Bro.—: We would both feel much better if you paid this, as promised." No response. At the session of the South Georgia Conference, of which he was a member, in 1933, I broached the subject to him, and was assured that the amount would be paid as soon as he returned home to Columbus. It wasn't. And it hasn't been yet. Incidentally, meeting his father, also a minister, on an Atlanta street, I mentioned the situation to him. His comment surprised me: "I know how it is. I have begged — to take care of his debts, but he won't do it." A little later I was to have a more painful experience with him along the same lines.

One of the bishops has owed me fifty dollars for more than a dozen years, despite voluble promises of payment

(Continued on page 11)

Table of UNRRA Aid

Following are tables from a report of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. They break down the amount and kind of assistance furnished each of the principal beneficiaries:

Shipments Program Through Dec. 31, 1946, in Thousand Tons

	Food	Clothing Textiles & Footwear ¹	Medical and Sanitation	Agricultural Rehabilitation	Industrial Rehabilitation ²	Unclassified ³	Total
Greece	1,306	27	9	287	693	727	3,049
Yugoslavia	1,084	73	20	161	695	352	2,385
Albania	67	3	12	17	42	25	156
Poland	806	80	27	386	493	...	1,792
Czechoslovakia.	608	40	24	267	404	...	1,343
Italy	1,844	105	14	410	7,238	...	9,611
Austria	365	4	1	164	47	177	758
White Russia..	72	6	1	44	22	...	145
Ukraine	209	19	12	41	112	...	383
China	1,094	155	37	558	907	...	2,751
Other Programs	57	90	5	6	4	34	196
Total	7,512	602	142	2,341	10,657	1,315	22,569

¹ Includes textile raw materials.

² Includes coal and all raw materials except textile raw materials.

³ Military shipments and items awaiting specification.

Shipments Program Through Dec. 31, 1946, in Million Dollars

	Food	Clothing Textiles & Footwear ²	Medical and Sanitation	Agricultural Rehabilitation	Industrial Rehabilitation ²	Unclassified	Grand Total
Greece	164.0	35.0	10.3	50.8	40.9	57.0	358.0
Yugoslavia ..	139.6	75.9	21.6	40.0	109.4	43.0	429.5
Albania	5.5	5.4	1.9	6.6	7.1	2.0	28.5
Poland	180.5	84.5	30.0	80.0	99.0	...	474.0
Czechoslovakia	107.0	29.5	26.5	33.4	73.6	...	270.0
Italy	195.7	55.9	16.0	29.5	127.4	...	425.0
Austria	54.0	2.0	1.5	19.1	9.0	31.7	117.3
White Russia.	28.9	7.4	1.2	5.7	17.8	...	61.0
Ukraine	100.2	21.7	2.8	17.4	46.9	...	189.0
China	131.5	95.9	41.3	80.0	186.3	...	535.0
Other Programs..	14.3	23.0	2.5	1.0	2.5	15.1	58.3
Total	1,112.2	436.2	155.6	363.5	719.9	149.3	2,945.6

¹ Values, f.a.s.

² Includes textile raw materials.

³ Includes coal and all raw materials except textile raw materials.

NOEL! NOEL!

Just right for making their meals on, saves much confusion—our own handpainted baby lamb design on a plastic tray. \$14.95. Sixth Floor. (Christmas Catalog from Lord & Taylor, New York City, 1945)

In Berlin a German woman refugee from Pomerania broke down and wept in an embarrassing and rather dreadful gratitude when I gave her a small tin of condensed milk for her child, who, she said—and whose looks bore out her words—had had virtually no food for three days. ("Manchester Guardian," Oct. 15.)

Did you hear her say she wanted a warm and pretty-making negligee? Here it is—our all-wool Botany brand robe with rayon crepe panels. Aqua with fuchsia, purple with cerise, chartreuse with Chinese red, cerise with petal blue. \$35. Fourth Floor.

Women have been seen in Berlin straining the waste water from the kitchen sink of a house where there was an Allied mess. ("Manchester Guardian," Oct. 15.)

What woman wouldn't give her eyeteeth for a three-quarter length striped wild Canadian mink coat with the new sleeve fullness. \$3,500. Third Floor.

—From "Shall Europe Starve," a pamphlet published by Politics magazine.



These Greek children aren't disturbed about crude eating utensils—not when there is promise of a warm meal! Over a million Greek children receive a nourishing meal each day in Greek War Relief Association feeding stations. The GWRA is now engaged in a campaign to raise \$12,000,000 for the furtherance of its work.

PRAYER FOR A HUNGRY WORLD

We pray, O Lord, for the fertility of the good earth. Where man has destroyed, ordain Thou nature to be bountiful.

We pray for those who labor to produce the crop in the field, and who toil to process it for consumption. Bless Thou the railroader and the trucker who distribute. Grant to ships at sea safe voyages, and to sky-transporters clear airways in their flight.

We pray for the hungry, whether enemies or allies once. Out of chaos bring forth order. From the foundations we would be building the housing and the hope, the customs and the concord that yet may fashion and fill the storehouse of mankind.

We pray for ourselves, that we may not be without compassion. From our own laden tables we turn to the world's empty cupboards. Leave us not untouched by the world's hunger, nor unblessed in giving to it.

We pray for Thy Kingdom, Lord, when men and nations shall sit down to a common board and break bread in fellowship, till every man shall say to his brother, This is good.

For Jesus Christ's sake, Amen.

—By Alfred W. Swan

How Honest Are Preachers?

(Continued from page 10)

upon the occasion of our last interview. Maybe he just hasn't been able to lay aside that much from his salary and expense allowance of some eight or ten thousand dollars a year. Despite the disparity of our respective incomes, I fancy that I have got along better without the money than he has with it. I charged it off the books long ago as a bad debt. If he ever has an attack of honesty and pays up, I shall be disposed to donate the proceeds to charity.

To summarize: Preachers, representing less than ten per cent of the total volume of business, have supplied more than ninety per cent of the bad debts accrued. If my calculations are correct, this makes them worse than 1-to-100 shots for honesty, as compared with average laymen, religious or otherwise.

Social Issues in Today's World

The General Welfare

GEORGIA'S UNIT SYSTEM STICKS. On November 25 the U. S. Supreme Court dismissed for the second time two protests against the county unit system governing primary elections in the State of Georgia. On Oct. 28 it had dismissed the petitions by a six-to-three decision. One of the rejected lawsuits contested the Democratic primary nomination of Eugene Talmadge as Governor and the other sought to declare Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin, the primary choice, as Atlanta Representative, both on the basis of the popular vote in the recent election. The suits were brought by the Georgia Veterans for Majority Rule, a group organized to combat a system which they hold has virtually disfranchised the citizens of Georgia's urban areas and made it possible for "corrupt politicians" to control the state through the votes of rural areas.

BUS MEASURES LOST IN WISCONSIN AND PENNSYLVANIA. An amendment to the Wisconsin school-bus which would have provided free buses for parochial as well as public school children was defeated by a 3-2 margin in that state recently. The amendment carried Milwaukee, which has more than 200,000 Roman Catholics, by a vote of 102,651 to 93,807. However, it carried only 9 of Wisconsin's 71 counties.

Commenting on the defeat of the amendment, Dr. Ellis H. Dana, executive vice-president of the Wisconsin Council of Churches, which led the fight against the bill, said "the nation has heard that a great American principle, which guarantees equality and liberty for all faiths, has been upheld. Understanding each other better now, let us close ranks and work together."

In Pennsylvania, parishioners of St. Patrick's R. C. Church, Kennett Square, have lost the second round of their legal fight to regain transportation for parochial school pupils on public school buses.

An appeal from the latest ruling is expected to be filed by the parishioners of St. Patrick's. Samuel Lichtenfeld, counsel for the petitioners, said he intends to "take the case to the highest court necessary".

THE NORTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE has asked its pastors not to appoint to church positions anyone who drinks liquor, advertises it, manufactures it, sells it, or advocates its sale.....Bishop C. C. Seleman recently urged Texas pastors to fight for temperance but warned them not to become "prohibition cranks".

International Relations

LANGUAGE OF FORCE. The Rev. John J. Cavanaugh, Notre Dame University President, believes the U. S. can best answer nations who deny the existence of God with "sky-high" piles of armaments and "bigger and better" bombs.

In a bitter attack upon Communism, Father Cavanaugh told an audience of 5,000 persons in Oklahoma City recently that any nation which is to be a responsible member of a world government must be "officially" God-fearing.

Furthermore, he said, Communism denies human rights and nations which repudiate human rights understand only the language of force.

UNITED STATES ON SPAIN AND YUGOSLAVIA.

Americans who know of Franco's repeated unfriendly acts towards the Allies during World War II must have wondered about the U. S. attitude toward Spain, as contrasted with that toward Yugoslavia during the recent furor created by the shooting down of two American planes over that country.

In 1943, an American transport plane was machine-gunned while flying off its course over "friendly" territory—Spanish Morocco. The plane, full of bullet-holes managed to get back to French Morocco, but one of the passengers, a Canadian Broadcasting Co. correspondent, had been killed. Instead of the event arousing great indignation in the American press, it was "buried" in a few lines under the smallest possible head.

FRENCH WORKERS SEIZE FOOD, SHELTER. In two recent actions, French workers are pointing the way to a possible explosion of revolutionary energy against their starvation standard of living.

Learning that a wholesale dealer had 35,000 eggs stored in a warehouse at Nioft, near the west central coast, trade union workers seized the entire stock and placed it on sale at Union headquarters at an official price of 60 francs a dozen. In the black market—the only place eggs can be bought—they are 20 francs apiece.

A squatter's movement at Marseilles flared up again when 35 workers with their families moved into a big chateau formerly belonging to the mayor. Six worker's families now occupy the biggest bedroom which once housed Goering for a night during the Occupation, and President Roosevelt for two nights on his return from Yalta. Finally released from use by the American Army, the chateau was seized without opposition from police or civil authorities.

Previously at Marseilles six families of workers had occupied a 22-room villa against the owner's protests. Another 11 families had seized the entire second floor of a Catholic seminary, the Brothers Christian School. Backed by the Popular Action Committee of Fiances and Newly-Weds, the Bombed-Outers Association and the Workers' Family Association, the squatter's action had forced the Government to requisition the villa, while the priest in charge of the school hastily offered the squatters a three-year lease.

ONE OF THE MOST DRASTIC FINANCIAL MEASURES ever undertaken by a non-revolutionary government is a capital levy, provided for in a bill now before the Dutch Parliament. The measure if adopted will take 10% of their capital from those possessing up to 100,000 florins, and will rise to 25% from those owning more than 1,000,000 florins. A florin is about 38 cents in U. S. currency.

Ecumenicity

PROTESTANT PROCESSIONAL. For the first time in Syracuse history, pastors of virtually all Protestant churches, wearing traditional vestments of their particular denominations, marched in a dramatic procession at a solemn ceremony in Plymouth Congregational Church here marking the installation of the Rev. Laurence H. Hosie as executive secretary of the Council of Churches of Syracuse and Onondaga County.

Main speaker at the service, the Rev. Robert W. Searles, director of the community relations for the Protestant Council of the City of New York, declared:

"The church's main problem in this atomic age is essentially a problem of human relations—between nations, between races, between the human elements in the house of industry, with the family—and in each single life where the struggle between selfishness and brotherhood takes on a cosmic significance. It must dawn upon us that there is as real a science of human relations as there is of living cells. Life depends upon discovery of and obedience to those laws.

"And that is where the church comes in, as a means and not an end—the means for establishing the Kingdom of God!"

Race Relations

RECOGNIZING THAT THE CURRENT POSTWAR REACTION is accompanied by a revival of racial tension, the North Carolina-Virginia Conference of the Congregational-Christian Church at its annual sessions here condemned "Bilboism", the Columbians, and the Ku Klux Klan. The Conference pledged itself to work for improvement in race relations, and declared that "the witness of the church must begin at homelits first obligation is to renounce racial caste within its own fellowship."

A POPOSAL FROM THE COMMISSION ON SOCIAL RELATIONS that the American Lutheran Conference go on record in favor of "receiving Negroes into predominantly white churches in localities where Negroes are too few to have churches of their own" precipitated a clash between northern and southern delegates at the 8th biennial convention of that body in Rockford, Illinois, recently.

Dr. C. E. Haterius of Hutto, Texas, told the convention that the proposal "may be all right in some places in the North, but it won't work out in the South." Then he added, "Let's be realistic".

Labor Concern

THE CIO ORGANIZING COMMITTEE won 11 more National Labor Board elections during the week ending Dec. 2, 1946, according to Committee Director Van A. Bittner. This brought to 277 the number of elections won since the organizing campaign opened late in May, he said.

"Principal victories of the week for the Committee were those in Crossett, Ark., and Beaumont, Texas", he said.

"In the Arkansas city 354 employees of the Crossett Lumber Co. voted for the International Wood-workers of America, 54 voted for the AF of L and three voted against both unions. 508 workers were eligible to vote.

"In Beaumont 203 employees of the Cummer-Graham Co. cast their ballots for the Woodworkers, and 13 voted against. 308 were eligible."

MOVIE OF THE MONTH

"The Killers." With Burt Lancaster, Ava Gardner, and Sam Levene. Seen at Keith's Theatre, Baltimore, Maryland.

There is a trio of pictures now playing the country's neighborhood theatres which have social significance in that they accurately mirror the post-war mood of the American people—"The Killers," "The Big Sleep," and "The Strange Love of Martha Ivers."

These are all fast-moving, tough, amoral pictures, skirting perilously close to Johnson Office disapproval. They deal with murder, theft, greed, double-crossing, adultery and are highlighted by flying fists, bullets, and neurotic—but clever—dialogue. One—"The Big Sleep"—does more than hint at nymphomania and alcoholism.

But in all of them—as in their literary counterpart, "The Hucksters," there is a profound melancholia, a deep dissatisfaction with the emptiness and purposelessness of a life without ethics and ideals.

Federation Activities and Reports

THE GENESEE CONFERENCE CHAPTER is holding its second Annual Retreat at the First Methodist Church, Geneseo, New York, on January 13-14, 1947.

The Rev. Robert Horton of Corning, N. Y., the Chapter President, is in charge of the arrangements. The Rev. Brad Webster of Akron, N. Y., heads the Program Committee and two Rochester ministers, Earl Winters and Harold Patton, are in charge of publicity.

The Genesee Conference World Peace Commission and the Conference Social Action and Industrial Relations Commission are cooperating in the Retreat.

The Rev. W. C. Edmunds is pastor of the host church.

Names Are News

Dr. HARVEY SEIFERT, formerly at Adrian College, Michigan, is now teaching at the School of Religion of the University of Southern California at Los Angeles. . . . Among the early registrants for the Evanston Conference December 31-January 1-2 are the following school-mates of the editors at Garrett: ED BROWN, Urbana, Ohio; WILBUR GROSE, St. Paul, Minn.; ARMAND GUERREO, Chicago, Ill.; O. L. MERRITT, Waukesha, Wis.; and VIC GOFF, Iowa City, Iowa. . . . WINIFRED CHAPPELL, former office secretary of the Federation in New York, also plans to be at Garrett. She now resides in Lake Bluff, Ill. . . . Federation member PERCY CHAMBERLAIN of Seymour, Conn., spent several days early in November on a hunting trip in Vermont, where he and New York East Conference Federationists LEWIS DAVIS, EDGAR JACKSON, WAYNE WHITE, JOHN FRANZEN, AMOS HORLACHER, ED PEET, AL SMITH, and HAROLD BEAUMONT maintain a vacation camp. . . . JACK McMICHAEL, Federation Executive Secretary, was made a proud father for the third time at the Brooklyn Methodist Hospital recently. It's a girl this time—Mei-Mei Lynn. . . . Another early Garrett registrant is the Rev. HAROLD BUCKLAND of St. Johnsbury, Vermont, active in the newly-organized Troy Conference chapter. . . . The Rev. JOHN SAFRAN, central figure in "l'affaire Safran," which was commented on editorially in the October SQB, will be at the Garrett Conference. . . . OWEN GEER, member of the MFSS executive committee and until recently pastor at Dearborn, Michigan, is now located in California. . . . Federationists LLOYD WORLEY and LAWRENCE HAAS, the latter a manufacturer of Norwalk, Conn., were appointed recently by Bishop G. BROMLEY OXNAM to investigate working conditions in the Methodist Publishing House plant in Nashville. This was in accord with a resolution adopted by the New York East Conference. . . . Dr. WADE CRAWFORD BARCLAY is now engaged in writing a history of Methodist missions for the Board of Missions. . . . Federationist Dr. CLYDE MILLER, of Columbia University and the League For Fair Play, is one of the authors of the famous "Springfield Plan." He will handle publicity at the Garrett Conference.

FINAL STATISTICS SHOW THAT BRITISH CO-OPS gained 1.92% in membership in 1945, average membership increasing from 8,670 to 8,787. Total membership increased from 9,225,240 to 9,401,927. There was no appreciable increase in trade except in home furnishings and hardware, due to continuing shortages; an increase in turnover from 352,311,277 pounds to 360,999,519 reflects inflation. The seven largest British co-ops are London, Royal, Arsenal, Birmingham, South Suburban, Liverpool, Leeds and Barnsley, all with memberships over 100,000.

The Outlook in China

(Continued from page 3)

ary 15, 1944, seventy-five percent of all Japan's engagements in China were against Communists, and they are spoken of during the period in question as "the main enemy". During the first six months of 1944, the Communists recovered 87,000 square kilometers of territory with a population of 13,800,000 persons. Subsequently they freed from Japanese control four-fifths of the area in North and Central China which had been abandoned by the Chungking forces. So vast was the territory won by the Communists that when Japan capitulated, American planes had to transport Nationalist soldiers to get near enough to the Japanese to receive their surrender.

There is little resemblance between the economic pattern of Soviet Russia and that of China. The mere problem of survival has made doctrinaire policies impossible. What the Chinese Communists have achieved during these war years has been guided by the necessity of uniting the greatest possible number of people in determined resistance. Hence the doctrine of "the class struggle" has been abandoned, and with it any ideas of single party dictatorship.

The remarks of the Honorable Michael Lindsay, Professor of Physics at Yenching University in a letter to the *Times* of October 2, 1946 are pertinent:

"My wife and I lived for over two years in villages in a Communist base in West Hopei.

"There was no doubt that the people, including even many landlords felt that they were getting better and more honest government than they had ever known. It was also clear that village government was *very effectively democratic* . . .

"The government was not a purely one-party system. Some KMT members held important positions and there was a KMT party organization which had its own radio station to communicate with Chungking. KMT officials told me that they had published their own newspaper until Chungking refused to continue financial support . . .

"The inhabitants of Communist areas have been able to make their government change policies which they dislike and can secure dismissal and punishment of corrupt officials. Which type of society is it preferable to live in?"

A Christian Solution

Whether capitalism or Communism emerges in China, is an issue of which neither the U. S. A. nor the U. S. S. R. will have the final word. The issue will be settled by internal economic forces rather than by foreign maneuvering. If the Kuomintang can achieve an economy of plenty, the people of China will not go Communist and no pressure from Russia will induce them to give up what they have found satisfactory, to gamble with the unknown. But if the Kuomintang cannot achieve that economy of plenty, then China will go Communist, and no armed assaults by American intervention can prevent it.

The immediate issue is cessation of strife in order that an economy of plenty may become possible. For the sake of American trade relations, for the sake of American security, and for the sake of the Chinese people:

1. Let our State Department enter into an agreement with that of Russia and of other powers that there are to be no foreign troops on Chinese soil. The moment that agreement has been ratified withdraw our American troops.

2. Meanwhile, and until a coalition government freely elected by the Chinese people has achieved peace and national unity, immobilize all Lend-Lease war equipment and restrict economic assistance to impartially administered charities.

3. In order to expedite a democratic solution, and to demonstrate American good will, hold out the inducement of several billion-dollar civilian reconstruction loan.

But, in addition, for a solution to be truly Christian, it will have to show a spirit of tolerance to changing economic patterns.

A further test of what is truly Christian will be loyalty to our Jewish and Christian traditions of prophetic religion. In their respective attitudes toward China, our American religious leaders show a clash of outlook as old as the days of the prophet Amos. Amos spoke with a language eminently pertinent to what is transpiring in China when with faith in the God of history he cried out against the chauvinists and the profiteers of Israel. But in his day there was another school of the prophets which curried favor with the rich and dealt in geo-politics. In Second Kings 14:25 we read that King Jeroboam II "restored the borders of Israel from the entrance of Hamath unto the seal of the Arabah, according to the word of Jehoval, the God of Israel." This word of Jehovah came to Israel's ruler "by his servant Jonah, the son of Amittai." It was much as though a religious leader today were to tell us that our best guarantees of safety for Christian civilization was to stake our strategic frontier in northern China. Fortunately for the world the "Jonah, son of Amittai" type of religion did not. According to the author of the satire on this chauvinist preacher, that sort of religion sickened even a whale!

In the place of a Jonah strategy let us seek a more sincere support for American Christian Colleges in China. These, and other aspects of Christian missions fulfill the desire of the Chinese people for spiritual as well as cultural advance, and combat the atheistic aspects of Communism.

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With special reference to the Communists

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Gunther Stein, *Challenge of Red China*, (1945)



Choir Master — "Well, children, sing with spirit, for today we are being picked up by a coast to coast hook-up for Ipsy Wipsy Baking Powder."

Frost

Social Service Union Convention Demands 30 Per Cent Wage Raise

Delegates representing nearly 5000 employees in private social service organizations in New York City unanimously adopted a demand for a 30 per cent wage raise to meet living costs for all workers in social service and other non-profit agencies at a December convention.

New collective bargaining demands will be accompanied by increased efforts to organize several thousand unorganized clerical, professional and maintenance workers in private health and welfare agencies, institutions, and other non-profit organizations in the city.

Announcement of delegates' decisions was made by Helen Mangold, president of the Social Service Employees' Union, Local 19, United Office and Professional Workers of America, CIO, which called the two-day convention at Tom Mooney Hall, 13 Astor Place.

Approximately 250 delegates and 150 observers from union chapters in nearly 100 agencies attended. They drew up a program for the coming year in collective bargaining, new organization, political action, community services, education and social activities, and other phases of the union's work, Mrs. Mangold reported.

The convention passed a resolution backing CIO President Philip Murray's call for unity to three major labor organizations. "In light of the developments in the United Mine Workers situation our membership thinks that such a movement toward labor unity is more imperative now than ever," a telegram sent by the convention to Murray said.

Delegates also pledged financial support to Sydenham Hospital in its drive for funds to maintain its services.

Other collective bargaining demands adopted by the convention, in addition to the 30 per cent across-the-board increase, are demands for a \$40 minimum for a 40 hour week for maintenance workers and a \$39 minimum for a 35-hour week for clerical employees. New minimum demand for beginning professional workers is \$64 for a 35-hour week, Mrs. Mangold said.

Previous minimum for the lowest paid clerical and maintenance jobs in social service agencies, established by the union in a recent salary drive, was \$30 a week. Previous professional minimum was \$46 a week.

Delegates also voted to seek time and a half overtime pay for professional employees.

In the area of community services, the convention called on the city government to take greater responsibility for foster home care for children and to raise relief budgets of clients 60% to meet advanced living costs. Two unions in the public field, Local 1 and the Teachers Union, United Public Workers, CIO, co-sponsored the community services section of the convention along with the Social Service Employees' Union, which represents only private workers.

The Federation Mailbag

New Brunswick, N. J.

Gentlemen:

Recently, at the request of my father, Mr. James F. Gillespie, who is already a member of your Federation, you sent me several back copies of the SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN. I was sufficiently impressed so that I am enclosing five dollars (\$5.00) for my own membership. Actually, I was more than sufficiently impressed; I was thrilled and proud of the work you are doing and the stands you are taking. The Federation has proven to me that evolution exists in religion, too.

Among the many copies you sent me there was much said about anti-semitism, but there was no article which dealt specifically with the Palestine issue. If such an article exists, I should be pleased to have it.

Also enclosed with your literature was a small four-page pamphlet "A Proposed Program of Study and Action." It was amazing. With it I feel I could do a little missionary work on my own among ex-Methodists who are no longer church attendants since they feel, not entirely without cause, that our church's main program is one of negativism aimed mostly against card-playing, dancing, etc. The Federation's program would assure them that our church leaders are more concerned with the welfare of humanity than with the petty problem of Rook vs. Bridge or even Poker. I would, therefore, appreciate it if you would send me a half dozen copies of the above-mentioned pamphlet. None of them will be wasted.

Very sincerely yours,
Ruth G. Arbiter

Omaha, Neb.

My dear Mr. Smith:

Permit me a word of friendly but honest protest of the temper, and some of the argument, presented in "l'affaire safran" in the recent issue. If I would dare to borrow Dr. Conover's unfortunate term, who is "this fellow" who writes so intemperately of a matter of administration which admittedly has many angles and quirks?

Not being an addict to "Time" I had seen nothing of this (to me) tempest in a teapot until the BULLETIN appeared. Bishop Wade's statement—I refuse to libel him by suggesting he had his tongue in his cheek—seems clear enough as to the facts; and I for one can see little to have been done than what was done. To insist on re-appointing a man to a church that does not want him—be the reasons ever so diabolical—is almost administrative malfeasance, and were I the minister in the case I would risk a charge of insubordination and refuse the appointment. Administratively, the case appears clear: why all the furore? I am ashamed of the spirit of the article and of the attack. It seems unkind, un-Christian, immoderate, unobjective.

If we Christians, we Methodists, have to indulge in all this catty, cranky, and all-but nasty reporting of the acts of our brethren, who in God's name is to point the way to understanding and peace, in such matters, and in the wider world? If we cannot set our own house in order, who are we to expect much in this atomic age? (For herein answering immoderation with further immoderation, I stand equally condemned. Forgive me. But I suggest you, too, accompany me to the mourner's bench.)

Sincerely,
Fay Charling Mills

(ED. NOTE: Brother Mills has fallen into the same error as the Detroit Conf. cabinet—a refusal to consider anything more than the administrative angle.)

Books and Pamphlets

Halsey, Margaret: Color Blind. Simon and Schuster, New York. \$2.00.

The sub-title of this book is "A White Woman Looks At The Negro." Miss Halsey, a professional humorist who wrote "With Malice Towards Some" and "Some of My Best Friends Are Soldiers," is not being funny when she probes for the roots of the pathological fear with which some people view the colored American. She has written an urbane if angry little tract, heavily weighted on the psycho-sexual side, and what she says about our national color-blindness is undoubtedly true.

The author first got "roused up" on the subject when serving as a captain of Junior Hostesses at a New York canteen during the war. The canteen had a policy of "no discrimination," and the reaction of this policy on the white and negro Junior Hostesses, the white southern boys who wandered in

(and usually went roaring out), and the negro service-men themselves constitutes the background of the book.

Miss Halsey is certainly on solid ground when she ascribes discrimination to a wish on the part of the dominant (white) group to exploit the weaker (colored) group economically, but as to how far her second major thesis—that white's fear negroes because of the greater sexual potency and sexual attractiveness of "primitives"—is born out in actual fact, it is difficult to say. Can it be that the writer has given undue weight to the whisperings of her own Freudian libido? Certainly there is something to this argument, but it is this reviewer's hunch that most anthropologists and psychiatrists would say that it does not count for anywhere near as much as Miss Halsey thinks.

This is a provocative and well-written essay, but—in comparison, for instance, with Gunnar Myrdal's "An American Dilemma"—it is decidedly minor league. With which judgment, I think, Miss Halsey would concur. I don't think she intended it as anything more.

A. J. S.

How Can We Teach About Sex? Public Affairs Committee, New York, 32 pages. 10 cents.

Several important DON'TS in sex education are listed by Dr. Benjamin C. Gruenberg, one of America's leading authorities in the field, in "How Can We Teach About Sex?", a 32-page, ten-cent pamphlet issued today by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., of New York. They are:

Don't Call the Doctor!

Sex is not a disease. For the individual child and for children in groups, education should not be undertaken by trouble-shooters or pathologists or repairmen.

Don't Set Up a Course

Sex is not a "subject"—like history or arithmetic. It is an integral and pervasive fact of life that bears upon everything we do. . . . Boys and girls need guidance and counsel and orientation even more than technical information.

Don't Wait for Trouble!

Sex education is not a medicine. It is a continuous process of developing attitudes and values and understandings regarding all situations and relationships in which being male or female plays a role.

"As we come to see that sex is inseparable from human growth and development, we must change the goals of sex education," Dr. Gruenberg declares. He sees the educator's job becoming more and more the problem of developing character, rather than "instilling a number of isolated virtues."

The greatest obstacles to the schools' acceptance of their new responsibilities, according to the pamphlet, are the obsolete

conception of education in many schools and the lack of qualified teachers. The author calls upon "all who are not satisfied with the practical results of the prevailing modes of casual sex education to help the schools and parents work out more suitable approaches."

"How Can We Teach About Sex?", by Benjamin C. Gruenberg, is Pamphlet No. 122 in the series of popular, factual, ten-cent pamphlets issued by the Public Affairs Committee, Inc., a nonprofit educational organization at 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, New York.

Radio Is Yours, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 121. By Jerome H. Spingarn. Public Affairs Committee, Inc., New York. 10 cents.

The best statement this reviewer has seen of the issues facing the public in the present struggle to convert the broadcasters to the public interest is in this pamphlet.

Mr. Spingarn has been an attorney with the Federal Communications Commission and Consultant on Radio Broadcasting to the Senate Small Business Committee. He knows all and writes with an evident desire to tell all. There is a deal of "all" to tell.

A pamphlet of this sort must deal with the evident problems in radio, such as the plethora of soap operas (57 per cent of daylight listening time on some networks), the moot question of what constitutes free speech on the air and what the broadcaster can do about it, and the difficulty in getting time for sustaining programs before 11:30 at night. But Mr. Spingarn wisely gives attention to a more fundamental problem. The public owns the airwaves, and spends twice as much on radio as the broadcasters and advertisers spend on transmission and programs. The user of a channel is only a licensee, granted the privilege of making a profit out of serving the public interest. "Radio is no gift horse," says Mr. Spingarn, "and you have every right to look into the mouth of the loudspeaker."

Actually, the radio industry is a public utility. All the problems of programming, excessive profits, tie-ups between stations and newspapers (having the effect of monopoly ownership of news outlets), and political pressure must be seen in this light. But when have we ever made a public utility act like one, and would the public recognize it if we did?

The section on F M is unusually informative. F M is free of static, permits high fidelity broadcasting, and increases the number of broadcast channels. It ought have been made available to the public in the form of standard sets with an F M attachment at the close of the war. Now, if the present powers-that-be in radio take the wraps off F M, and they are very reluctant to do so, the industry will be in the delightful predicament of having to sell everyone another set entirely.

W. L.

EXTRA!

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